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entirely false is permissible, as is a huffy reaction implying, "Well, you are no friend of mine, then."

Children also develop the technique of thieving. They discover that if they take food secretly and then deny that they have done so, they can, if they are adept enough, escape the usual punishment. If they are caught stealing, however, they will be even more severely punished by the owner than if they openly took the food. Despite the greater punishment, most children develop the art of thieving. Mar and Gwiap both told me that when they were children they stole tobacco, areca nuts, and other foodstuffs from their parents and carried them to the forest playhouse to enjoy.

Since the stealing of food leftovers is a necessary step in carrying out the form of black magic most frequently practiced by the Kwoma, some parents are reputed actually to train their children in the art of stealing. Mey, according to his brother, Gwiap, was being thus trained by Wof. The frequency with which he stole things from me and the technique which he employed tend to support this statement. One evening when he thought I was not looking, he took some of my cigarette papers from the table. I accused him and he blandly denied that he had taken them, showing me his empty hands to prove it. I looked under the table and saw that he had dropped the papers and attempted to kick them out of sight. On another occasion he asked me for some tobacco and I refused. A few minutes later he pulled an areca nut from his pocket and said that someone had attempted to sorcerize him and that if I looked carefully at the nut I would see the tiny holes where the poison had been inserted. It was by mere chance that I glanced up from my examination of the nut to see Mey quickly withdraw a handful of tobacco from the tin. He had invented the sorcery story to distract my attention.

However adept the child may become in begging and stealing, he must learn at this time that as an adult he cannot live by these means alone; he must acquire prescribed work habits in order that he may be able to wrest food from the environment when he assumes the responsibility for supporting

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- 868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

[252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he

[264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day
[372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error.

[86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

[312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a supply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, [313] and consequently does not affect the boys.* A girl in the [462] childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

* A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening² by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokwi* may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

² Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

³ *Nokwi* is the highest stage of the yam cult.

857 up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the
 868 harvest home.

241 Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

857 Children do not participate in the process of extracting
 868 flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which
 [252] requires the coöperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

[224] Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon
 [562] as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they

[410] are poorly constructed and rarely used. A boy's father usually
 [223] makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the pooriness of the weapons, some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. Mes, an adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker, became my shoot boy. He had, of course, never fired a gun in his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

[224] It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a
 [411] hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw⁸⁶⁸ up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting. ⁸⁵⁷ [224] [411]

Kwoma children participate in-eating for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter*; the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship. [231] [601] [231]

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this. [226] [462]

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons. [412] [286]

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁵⁷

* A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon. [137]

861 other tasks if he wishes, and is definitely debarred from still
 • 868 others. Although this work is directed toward the satisfaction
 857 of hunger, the children cannot always appreciate this and
 must be coerced. A Kwoma does not take full responsibility
 for many of the tasks until adolescence; then he learns by
 experience that no work means no food. The coercion, as we
 have seen, consists in scolding or beating the child for not
 doing the tasks expected of him, and in warning him of the
 dire consequences which follow an undesired act.

863 Cleanliness habits are usually already established by the
 time a boy or girl reaches childhood. Informants stated that
 if a slip occurs it is the child's own business except that he is
 forced to clean up after himself. The following example indi-
 cates how sanctions actually operated in a case of enuresis.
 One night, when the mosquitoes were very bad, Buka, a girl
 about eight years old, slept with her mother, older sister, and
 younger brother in the screened room in my house. The next
 morning I found a puddle on the floor. Soon after breakfast
 the two young girls came in shamefacedly and offered to
 clean up. They lied to me, saying that Kum had wet the floor
 and that they were going to punish him for it. While they
 were carrying out the rug, their *paternal uncle* came in,
 scolded Buka, and beat her. She cried and ran home. The
 uncle then told me that it was Buka's own business if she wet
 the bed as long as she cleaned up after herself. He said that
 he would not have scolded her if she had done it at home, but
 wetting my floor was an insult to me which must be punished.
 Several of the onlookers referred to the act as that of an
 infant and said that she was old enough to know better.

864 Sexual conditioning begins in earnest during childhood. A
 boy is punished for looking at the genitals of any female.
 He is scolded and even beaten if he does this, the person at
 whom he looks usually being the one who does the punishing.
 Informants stated that learning takes place primarily with
 respect to the mother and sisters because they are the females
 with whom the boy comes most frequently in contact. When
 a woman scolds a boy for staring at her, she tells him that he
 should not look at her genitals because they are her private